thornless bamboo (Kawayan) for the corn dulot. To these crosses are attached bits of Bendita palm blessed during Palm Sunday in the poblacion church and a few rice stalks and heads from the paddy to be harvested. One cross is partly pushed into the earth while the Lord's Prayer is recited by the woman holding the lihi. This woman is often the wife of the owner of the paddy or of a tenant farmer. When this prayer is finished the cross is pushed farther into the ground and a prayer is said to the Virgin Mary. Responses to this prayer are given by the women who accompany the leader. After the two prayers are finished the groups cross themselves. Each time upon completing a prayer, the cross is pushed deeper into the earth. These two prayers are repeated three times (ideally) for each cross. Then the group proceeds counter-clockwise around the paddy; the ceremonies are repeated at the remaining three crosses. Some women recite the Apostle's Creed instead of the Lord's Prayer.

This lihi is nearly always done by women. One man said he often performed his own pre-harvest rice lihi but "my daughter loves to make it." One reason why the men do not perform this lihi is that most of them have not memorized the necessary prayers. Another factor which explains the predominant role of women in these agricultural ceremonies was given by one woman who bluntly stated: "When the rice is ready for harvest the men do not care anymore." The general male indifference and lack of participation in these agricultural practices in Caticugan reflects indifference to the religious affairs in general.

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The ritualist shortly returned, and one of Pas' sons also went to the table and drank a sip of tuba. If there had been more tuba the son would have emptied the cup and then refilled it. Since only a small amount of tuba was available, he took but a swallow. The ritualist refilled the cup and again walked into the corn rows to mutter his incantations.

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During the dulot Pas' sons and their male companions snickered and quietly laughed among themselves. Pas and her female companions were quiet but appeared slightly bored. Although the writer's presence may have been a disturbing element, he knew the family well. The participants acted as they would at a social gathering; certainly they showed neither religious awe nor fear. The man performing the dulot was quite serious in mien, but gave no indication of annoyance at the attitude of the young people.

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When the offering was finished the table and food were carried inside the house. A rosary then was held by the women for the souls of previous owners of the cornfield. When the rosary was finished a large pot of boiled corn ears and kinalopis were placed on the floor under the center joint of the roof. The pot was surrounded by four plates of boiled fresh-water shrimp. Two girls and one of sons lifted the pot three times; a little food was thrown upward and some was pushed through the floor slats, as a symbolic offering to the souls of Pas' departed parents.

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The group performed this ceremony with much amusement. Then all the guests were served a meal, including food prepared for the dulot offering.

More visitors came later, although not as many as were expected. Pas said this was because six other dulots were being held in Lamtoc the same night! The visitors were given kinalopis to take home; the man who conducted the dulot received an additional gift of food.

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The spatial distribution of the dulot in Caticugan is quite interesting. The dulot is practiced in Talo-ot, by most of the people who cultivate fields west of the main canal in Barrio Caticugan, and in lower Naga. People living east of the main canal in Barrio Caticugan and in upper Naga generally do not hold a dulot before harvesting corn. While the distribution of the dulot in the upper Siaton River valley is not known in detail, it is far more widely practiced in these barrios than in Caticugan. Lamtoc is a small sitio yet in one night six different families were holding a dulot. This attempt to delimit the dulot areas in Caticugan is only approximate. One woman living in Talo-ot cultivated as a tenant, a field between the main path and Caticugan creek; she held a dulot.

It is difficult to determine why the dulot is not held in upper Naga. Many factors are involved. First, there are only a few fields in this area. Second, more people are giving up the dulot in Caticugan than in the more remote barrios fact to be discussed later. Third,

These attitudes and customs associated with securing aquatic products in Siaton illustrate how Catholicism overlaid the ancient religious concepts. Animism and Catholicism operate in different conceptual frames of reference and barriofolk shift from one to the other without any severe conflict. This situation may explain the relative ease with which the Spanish padres "converted" Filipinos to Catholicism in the past.

The technology of aquatic products, like that of agriculture, also illustrates the sexual division of labor. Some activities are strictly male or female; for a male to participate in women's activities would render him suspect. For example, the only men in Caticugan who were vendors of vegetables, guhang or rice cakes, were individuals known to the barriofolk as bayutes, highly feminine-acting men. There are some activities that either a male or a female may perform as far as the participants' physical strength is concerned, or take into consideration the restricted mobility of most women. The concept of menstrual pollution is another factor; e.g., women should not climb guhang trees (spoil flavor of drink), approach men making boats (the wood might crack), or approach the fish corral (the bonsod's luck might be lost). Age may modify one's role in certain activities. For example, old men may and do help women gather clams and snails at the seashore, an activity in which most young men would not think of participating.

The religious concepts of Caticugan barriofolk are integrated into most aspects of their culture. Religion

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is not concentrated in Sunday church services or certain holy days. Religion is practiced every day by the barriofolk, be they planting crops, hunting a wild pig, or building equipment for "harvesting" the products of river and sea. There is hardly an agricultural or aquatic activity that is not enmeshed, directly or indirectly, in the basic religious habits of the people.

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This fact makes it difficult to convince rural people of the wisdom of modifying food-producing activities. Acceptance of a new agricultural method may involve more than substitution of new for old techniques. New methods may involve changes in religious concepts. This situation, I think, partially explains the fully documented resistance to modification of their food-producing activities manifested by most barriofolk--a resistance that confuses and annoys many American experts. These persons fail to realize that it is one thing to change a planting or harvesting method and quite another thing to change a religious concept intertwined with the former. A more careful and comprehensive study of the interrelations of religious beliefs with technological activities in the barrios could facilitate to a more realistic program for improving the food-producing activities.

51:Hart E-3 (1950-1952)1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14

796 131 123 presents preliminary notes on the rural fiesta complex as observed in Negros Oriental province during 1950-52. The information on the fiesta was obtained through participant observation, interviewing of informants, a careful analysis of scores of printed fiesta programs, and other published materials.

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796 177 The fiesta complex was brought to the Philippines by the Spanish conquerors of the archipelago in the 16th century. All fiestas originally corresponded to church feasts listed on the Catholic calendar " . . . and were, whatever they have now turned out to be, originally intended solely to do honor to the patron saints of the towns of King Philip's Catholic colony."[3] During the following centuries the fiesta was reinterpreted by the Filipinos. The event came to fill a sociocultural void created by the priests' suppression of ancient pagan ceremonies, to increase the religious education of the *tao* and the church's position among the people, and whether it was an original purpose or not, soon became a profitable financial venture for the Church.

● 771 Most rural Filipinos regard their patron saint as the "guardian" of their *barrio* or *poblacion*, watching over their health, households and general welfare. The patron saint is normally in the background of community affairs in the *barrios*, if less so in the *poblacions*, except during the fiesta period, when the *poblacions* also render special homage to their [789] saint. In periods of crises, crop failures, lack of rain, epidemics, etc., the patron saint may be turned to for aid, particularly by the barrio folk. During the writer's residence in Siaton, the people of Caticugan carried their patron saint (San Isidro) around the barrio, singing and praying, in hope of producing a badly needed rain for their parched crops. Ordinarily, however, the patron saint does not have such an important place in the daily routine of the people as during the annual fiesta. Yet, for many of the Filipinos, the mere fact that a patron saint exists must give them a diffused feeling of security.

796 This article cannot fully explore the modifications made by Filipinos on the original fiesta complex of the Spaniards. However, certain obvious and important reinterpretations will be pointed out.

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[3] *Ibid.*, p. 30.

In a survey of the fiestas of Negros Island the four frequently selected patron saints were: (1) San Isidro de Labrador; (2) Santo Niño; (3) San Jose; and (4) Sta. Cruz. San Isidro is the patron saint of farmers, a fact which probably explains, in part, his popularity. Male saints are, by far, the most popular, probably because there are more male than female saints in the Catholic faith.